FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

PUBLISHED BY THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1917

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Suffrage Guard Outside White House

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

AND

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 1917

Notes of the Week

Control of Town Shifts from Men to Women

THE municipal government of Umatilla, Oregon, has shifted from the hands of men to those of women as a result of the last town election. Mrs. Laura J. Starcher, wife of the retiring mayor, whom she defeated, took office January 11, with a woman recorder, woman treasurer and four councilwomen. In the appointment of committees Mrs. Starcher named only women, leaving the former members of the council entirely out of count.

"Several of the women are wives of former city officers and their election last December was the result of a last-hour coup," says the news dispatch.

Full Suffrage Advocated by Illinois Governor

FULL suffrage for the women of Illinois was urged by Governor Frank O. Lowden in his recent inaugural address at Springfield. He said that "under the decision of our courts, the Legislature may extend suffrage to women only for offices created by statute.

"The present law does not embrace all of the elective statutory offices and should be extended. It is an anomaly that women should have the right to vote for presidential electors and not for officers created by our state constitution. The anomaly, however, can be remedied only by a change in the constitution."

The Governor and the members of his party, the Republican, which gained control of the Legislature last November, was pledged to a new constitution for the state and it is believed that full suffrage for the women of the state will be one of the provisions of this constitution.

Women Lawyers May Join New York Bar Association

AS a result of action taken by the New York Bar Association January 12, women lawyers are eligible to membership in that organization. The by-laws of the association did not exclude women as members, but the question came to a vote on a motion by James Judge, a Brooklyn lawyer, who wanted the by-laws amended to exclude women specifically, thereby putting the state association on record alongside the New York City and Brooklyn associations, which do not admit women to membership.

The motion was defeated by a four to one vote. The defeat means that woman lawyers may become members of the State Bar Association. Two women presented their applications at the session.

Woman's Right to Make Affidavit Questioned

MISS J. S. JENNINGS, state legislative chairman of the Congressional Union for Virginia, writes us of her experience as a notary public of the State of Virginia:

She says: "I have been a notary public in Virginia for fourteen years. Recently I took affidavit for use in a North Carolina suit. The paper was returned by the attorneys in the suit for an affidavit made by a man, because of the present agitation in that state over the question of women acting as notaries. As a matter of policy, it was deemed best to have a man take the affidavit, and one, holding the same authority I do, made the affidavit which has been accepted by the attorneys."

Laws Asked by Illinois Women

A SECOND session of the Illinois Woman's Legislative Congress has been held recently in Chicago to impress upon the Illinois Legislature what laws are desired by the women of that state.

Two years ago, just prior to the opening of the 1915 Legislature, the women of Illinois held a conference, at the invitation of Lieutenant Governor Barratt O'Hara and a state commission, for the purpose of recommending measures to the General Assembly in which women were particularly interested. It was said to be the first gathering of the kind ever held in the United States.

Among the measures recommended by the present Congress for the consideration of the Legislature were many relating to women—bills fixing a minimum wage scale for women and minors and establishing an eight-hour day.

First Russian University Opened to Women

WOMEN will hereafter be admitted to Moscow University, the oldest and most authoritative university in the Russian empire, on the same terms as men. The Russian ministry of education and the faculty council of the university recently announced that hereafter women will be admitted in full equality with the men in all courses. Their diplomas will have equal standing and women graduates will be equally welcomed in important professional posts.

Scandinavian Women's Organization Formed at Stockholm

AN important development of the women's movement in the countries of Northern Europe is to be seen in the formation of the Federation of Northern Women's Rights Association.

The association recently held its first conference in Stockholm. Invitations had been sent out by the three Swedish women's societies to the various women's associations in Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland, asking them to send delegates to the conference.

The invitations were accepted, and in spite of the difficulties of traveling due to the war, delegates from all these countries made their way to Stockholm, and the proposed federation was duly formed. Its object is to bring about cooperation in work on behalf of the interests of women and children in the Scandinavian countries, and to enable women to confer together on these questions.

The by-laws adopted were in substance as follows:

"The aim of the organization shall be cooperation in attending to the interests of women and children in the family, state and community.

"Women's rights associations (national associations) in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden shall be entitled to join the organization, in which each country shall be represented by the boards or executive committees of those associations which have joined.

"Meetings shall be held at a date and place fixed by the organization, when questions of importance to women in the northern countries arise and claim discussion. A meeting shall be held not less than once every third year."

Women's work and women's wages were the subjects discussed by the conference at both its public and private sessions, and it was decided that commissions composed of delegates from each country should collect statistics regarding the condition of women's wages in their respective countries and that later the association as a whole should consider and draw up a common proposition for joint action.

Memorial Resolutions Presented to President

PRESIDENT WILSON was brought face to face last week with the protest of women over the waste of physical and spiritual energy that the suffrage battle means to women. Memorial resolutions from widely separated parts of the country in commemoration and protest over the death of Inez Milholland Boissevain, were presented to him at the White House on Tuesday, January 9, by a deputation of suffragists who made these resolutions the basis for their plea to the President to give his support to the federal suffrage amendment.

Mrs. Sara Bard Field, the speaker at the San Francisco Milholland memorial, carried across the continent to the President the resolutions of the women of California. Before she left San Francisco she had received hundreds of messages from every part of the state to transmit to the President, all expressing the growing bitterness of women over the prolongation of the struggle for political freedom which brought such loss as that of Inez Milholland.

Mrs. John Winters Brannan and Mrs. Clarence Smith, of New York, brought the resolutions passed at the New Year memorial held by the Congressional Union in that city. Miss Maud Younger, of California, speaker at the great national memorial held within the Capitol, presented the national resolution passed by more than a thousand women on Christmas day.

Until the day before the deputation was arranged the President had consented to see only the committee of four women appointed to present the resolutions. Three hundred cards were at this late date sent from the White House for other members and friends of the Union. Wires and telephone calls brought these hundreds of women on this brief notice from many states, including Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York and Illinois. It was an impressive gathering. The solemnity of the occasion created an atmosphere not felt at any previous deputation to the President. There was deep hope that the President was at last to catch the spirit animating the women of the nation and lend his support to their fight for political liberty.

Miss Maud Younger and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, who presented to the President the resolutions from the Capitol and the San Francisco Memorial Meetings

THE great body of women that assembled at the Gongressional Union Headquarters across the square from the White House, marched in a solid rank to the east gate.

Many distinguished women from distant cities were among the deputation, including Miss Marie Ernst Kennedy, chairman of the Pennsylvania branch of the Congressional Union, Mrs. Townsend Scott, chairman of the Maryland branch of the Union, Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, chairman of the Virginia branch, Dr. Cora Smith King, of Washington State, chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Council of Women Voters, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, of Connecticut, and Mrs. W. T. Burch, chairman of the District of Columbia branch of the Union.

President Wilson received the bearers of the petitions and the accompanying body of members of the Congressional Union in the East Room.

MISS MAUD YOUNGER in presenting the national resolutions and introducing those who followed her said:

"Mr. President, the past four years have seen the rise of the new and active movement for national woman suffrage, and its rapid and increasingly intensified development, until today it is recognized as inevitable within a very few years at most.

"In the century-long struggle of the people for self-government a few years may count for little, but to the women engaged in that struggle today a few years are a matter of life and death.

"The recent loss of Inez Milholland Boissevain has focussed attention upon the whole daily sacrifice, the pouring out of health and strength and vitality upon the part of hundreds, of thousands, of women. That is the toll of the prolonged struggle for woman's freedom.

"Mr. President, yours is the power to end this struggle now, before this Congress shall expire. Yours is the opportunity to save these years to the womanhood of this nation.

"With the very earnest hope that you may so do, with a strong faith, shared by thousands, that you will so use your great office, I submit the resolutions passed on Christmas day in the Capitol, and present Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York, and Sara Bard Field, of California, who will follow her."

MRS. BRANNAN made no comment and no plea to the President, merely presenting the memorial resolutions of the suffragists of New York, reading as follows:

"This gathering of men and women, assembled on New Year's Day in New York, to hold a Memorial Service in honor of Inez Milholland Boissevain, appeals to you,—the President of the United States—to end the out-pouring of life and effort that has been made for the enfranchisement of women, for more than seventy years in this country. The death of this lovely and brave woman, symbolizes the whole daily sacrifice that vast numbers of women have made, and are making, for the sake of political freedom. It has made vivid the constant unnoticed tragedy of this prolonged effort for a freedom that is acknowledged just, but still denied.

"It is not given to all to be put to the supreme test and to accept that test with such gallant gladness as she did. The struggle, however, has reached the point where it requires such intensity of effort,—relentless and sustained—over the whole vast country, that the health of thousands of noble women is being insidiously undermined. If this continues,—and it will continue until victory is won—we know only too surely, that many women, whom the nation can ill spare, will follow in the footsteps of Inez Milholland.

"We desire to make known to you, Mr. President, our deep sense of the wrong being inflicted upon women in making them spend their health and strength, and forcing them to abandon other work that means fuller self-expression, in order to win freedom under a government that professes to believe in democracy.

"There is only one cause for which it is right to risk health and life. No price is too high to pay for liberty. So long as the lives of women are required, these lives will be given.

"But we beg of you, Mr. President, so to act, that this ghastly price will not have to be paid. Certainly, it is a grim irony that a republic should exact it. Upon you, at this moment, rests a solemn responsibility; for, with *you* it rests to decide whether the life of this brilliant dearly loved woman, whose glorious death we commemorate today, shall be the *last* sacrifice of life demanded of American women, in their struggle for self-government.

"We ask you, with all the fervor and earnestness of our souls, to exert your power over Congress in behalf of the national enfran-

chisement of women, in the same way you have so successfully used it for other occasions and for far less important measures.

"We are confident that, if the President of the United States decides that this act of justice shall be done, in the present session of Congress, it will be done. We know, further, that if the President does not urge it, it will not be done.

"Truly, as you yourself have said, 'There is a great responsibility in having adopted Liberty as our ideal, because we must illustrate it, in what we do.' We assure you, Mr. President, you can illustrate it in no finer way, than by securing the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment, which embodies the mighty principles for which Inez Milholland laid down her life."

MRS. FIELD then presented the San Francisco resolution:

"We, members and friends of the San Francisco Branch of the National Woman's Party, in Memorial Service for Inez Milholland assembled, do hereby submit the following resolution:

"Resolved, that in the light of the untimely death of Inez Milholland, who gave her life in behalf of woman's emancipation, we bring to the attention of the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States the tragic and unnecessary waste of womanhood in the prolonged fight for political equality.

"Resolved, that we urge the President to use his great office to further the cause of democracy by open declaration of his interest in the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

IN stating the present position of federal amendment workers, Mrs. Field said:

"Mr. President, a year ago I had the honor of calling upon you with a similar deputation. At that time we brought from my western country a great petition from the voting women, urging your assistance in the passage of the federal amendment for suffrage. At that time you were most gracious to us. You showed yourself to be in line with all progressive leaders by your statement to us that you could change your mind and would consider doing so in connection with this amendment. We went away that day with hope in our hearts, but neither the hope inspired by your friendly words nor the faith we had in you as an advocate of true democracy kept us from working night and day in the interest of our cause.

"Since that day when we came to you, Mr. President, one of our most beautiful and beloved comrades, Inez Milholland, has paid the price of her life for this cause. The untimely death of a young woman like this—a woman for whom the world has such bitter need—has focussed the attention of the men and women of this nation on the fearful waste of women which this fight for the ballot is entailing. The same maternal instinct for the preservation of life—whether it be the physical life of a child or the spiritual life of a cause—is sending women into this battle for liberty with an urge which gives them no rest night or day. Every advance of liberty has demanded its quota of human sacrifice, but if I had time I could show you that we have paid in a measure that is running over. In the light of Inez Milholland's death, as we look over the long backward trail through which we have sought our political liberty, we are asking how long, how long, must this struggle go on?

"Mr. President, to the nation more than to women alone is this waste of maternal force significant. In industry such a waste of money and strength would not be permitted. The modern trend is all towards efficiency. Why is such waste permitted in the making of a nation?

"Sometimes I think it must be very hard to be a President, in respect to his contacts with people, as well as in the grave business he must perform. The exclusiveness necessary to a great dignitary holds him away from that democracy of communion necessary to a full understanding of what the people are really thinking and desiring. I feel that this deputation today fails in its mission if, because of the dignity of your office and the formality of such an occasion, we fail to bring to you the throb of woman's desire for freedom and her eagerness to ally herself with all those activities to which you yourself have dedicated your life, when once the ballot is in her hand. Those tasks which this nation has set itself to do are her tasks as well as man's. We women who are here today are close to this desire of women. We cannot believe that you are our enemy, or are indifferent to the fundamental righteousness of our demand.

"We have come here to you in your powerful office as our helper. We have come in the name of justice, in the name of democracy, in the name of all women who have fought and died for this cause, and in a peculiar way, with our hearts bowed in sorrow, in the name of this gallant girl who died with the word 'Liberty' on her lips. We have come asking you this day to speak some favorable word to us that we may know you will use your good and great office to end this wasteful struggle of women."

Mrs. John Winters Brannan and Mrs. Clarence Smith
Who Presented the New York
Resolutions

IN reply to this moving plea, which brought tears to the eyes of many present, the President responded unsmilingly, disclaiming responsibility as to federal suffrage enactment on the ground that he was the follower, not the leader of his party. He said:

"Ladies, I had not been apprised that you were coming here to make any representations that would issue an appeal to me. I had been told that you were coming to present memorial resolutions with regard to the very remarkable woman whom your cause has lost. I, therefore, am not prepared to say anything further than I have said on previous occasions of this sort.

"I do not need to tell you where my own convictions and my own personal purpose lie, and I need not tell you by what circumscriptions I am bound as leader of a party. As the leader of a party my commands come from that party and not from private personal convictions.

"My personal action as a citizen, of course, comes from no source but my own conviction and, therefore, my position has been so frequently defined, and I hope so candidly defined, and it is so impossible for me until the orders of my party are changed to do anything other than I am doing as a party leader, that I think nothing more is necessary to be said.

"I do want to say this: I do not see how anybody can fail to observe from the utterances of the last campaign that the Democratic party is more inclined than the opposi tion party to assist in this great cause, and it has been a mattter of surprise to me, and a matter of very great regret, that so many of those who were heart and soul for this cause seemed so greatly to misunderstand and misinterpret the attitude of parties. In this country, as in every other self-governing country, it is really through the instrumentality of parties that things can be accom-

plished. They are not accomplished by the individual voice but by the concerted action, and that action must come only so fast as you can concert it. I have done my best and shall continue to do my best to concert it in the interest of a cause in which I personally believe."

A DEAD silence followed the last words of the President. It was not an expectant silence. There was something stricken in it. The bitter disappointment of those hundreds of women was as keenly felt as if it had been shouted. The President paused the fraction of a second, as if waiting for applause or a stir of approval that failed to come. For that brief moment he had the subtly baffled air of a disappointed actor who has failed to "get across," as he would put it. Then the President turned abruptly on his heel and left the room. The women filed quietly from the place.

Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent, of California, had invited the deputation to tea in the Congressional Union headquarters, and without breaking up the whole deputation filed back to Cameron House. There was a strange unanimity about their attitude. It was not until the deputation were seated in the great drawing rooms that the bitterness of the disappointment of these women from many states, and representing many political faiths, began to express itself.

MRS. HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH voiced the feeling of the body as a whole when she demanded action on the part of women in these stirring words: "We have got to take a new departure. It rests with women to go on with this fight. We have got to bring to the President individually, day by day, week in and week out, the fact that great numbers of women want to be free!"

IN a ringing call for more drastic action, action that would focus the attention of the nation on the unfavorable attitude of the President, Mrs. Blatch outlined the latest plan of the Congressional Union; to picket the White House every day demanding action of the chief executive.

"We have gone to Congress, we have gone to the President during the past four years," said Mrs. Blatch, "with great deputations, with small deputations. We have shown the interest all over the country in self-government for women—something that the President as a great Democrat ought to understand and respond to instantly. Yet he tells us today that we must win his party. He said it was strange that we did not see before election that his party was more favorable to us than the Republican party. How did it show its favor? How did he show his favor today to us? He says we have got to convert his party. Why? Never before did the Democratic party lie more in the hands of one man than it lies today in the hands of President Wilson. Never did the Democratic party have a greater leader, and never was it more susceptible to the wish of that leader, than is the Democratic party of today to President Wilson. He controls his party, and I don't think he is too modest to know it. He can mold it as he wishes and he has molded it. He molded it quickly before election in the matter of the eight-hour law. Was that in his party platform? He had to crush and force his party to pass that measure. Yet he is not willing to lay a finger's weight on his party today for half the people of the United States.

"We have approached him with delegations. We have approached him with great processions. Women with full and beating hearts have individually gone to him—Republican women, Progressive women, Democratic women, to plead with him to do this thing; to do it in the name of justice and righteousness; to do it as a great Democrat. Yet today he tells us that we must wait more—and more.

"We can't organize bigger and more influential deputations. We can't organize bigger processions. We can't, women, do anything more in that line. We have got to take a new departure. We have got to keep the question before him all the time. We have got to begin and begin immediately.

"Women, it rests with us. We have got to bring to the President, individually, day by day, week in and week out, the idea that great numbers of women want to be free, *will* be free, and want to know what he is going to do about it.

"Won't you come and join us in standing day after day at the gates of the White House with banners asking, 'What will you do, Mr. President, for one half of the people of this nation?' Stand there as sentinels—sentinels of liberty, sentinels of self-government—silent sentinels. Let us stand beside the gateway where he must pass us in and out, so that he can never fail to realize that there is a tremendous earnestness and insistence back of this measure. Will you not show your allegiance today to this ideal of liberty? Will you not be a silent sentinel of liberty and self-government?"

SARA BARD FIELD in her spirited appeal to the members of the delegation brought out the fact that the President had actually advanced in regard to his attitude on the political liberty of women, and advanced in spite of himself. He had intended, she pointed out, to deliver a rebuff. But in mentioning the antagonistic attitude of suffragists in the last campaign, he had really for the first time in his career recognized women as political factors—as his political opponents. He showed in short that the campaign of the Woman's Party had hurt. "This," declared Mrs. Field, "is a great advance for the suffragists of this nation. A President has recognized us politically."

"We must now do," said Mrs. Field, "what the women of England did when they picketed parliament, calling silently for political recognition, what the women of Holland in their picket of parliament have been doing for the last two months—stand in hundreds outside the gates to let all men see that the women of this nation are demanding liberty. We will picket the President himself because we know that he can force legislation."

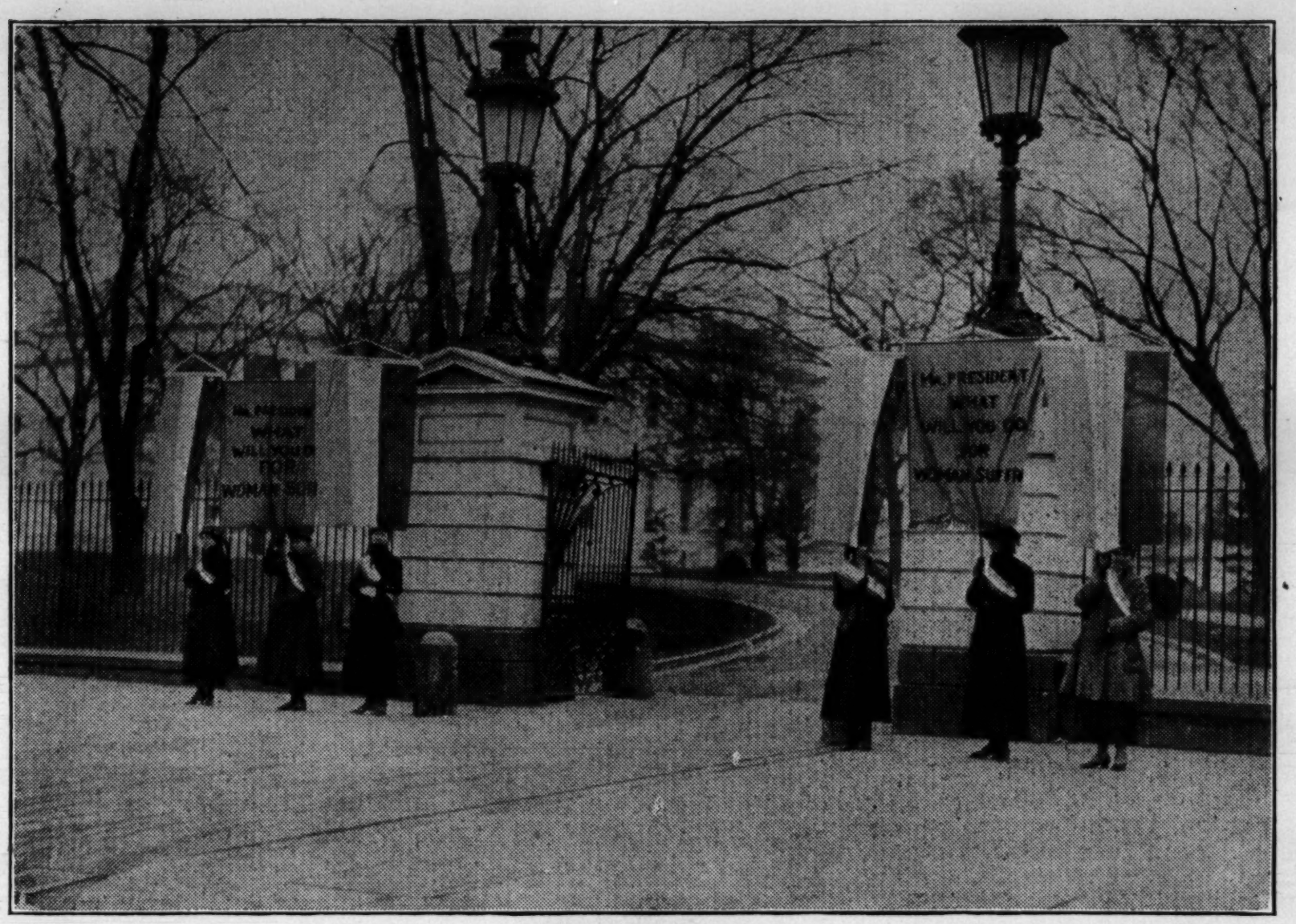
The response to the appeal of Mrs. Field was the raising of more than $3,000 within fifteen minutes by the members of the delegation that had been rebuffed by the President. In no way could they have shown more conclusively that the fight for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment was to go on with renewed vigor. Dozens of volunteers immediately asked for places on the picket line. Among the contributors were: Miss Mary Burnham, of Philadelphia, $1,100; Mrs. William Kent, of California, $1,200; Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, $375; Miss Ella Riegel, of Philadelphia, $100; Delaware Branch of the Congressional Union, $100; and Maryland Branch of the Congressional Union, $100.

Press Comment on the Deputation

PRESIDENT WILSON displayed to the Congressional Union woman suffrage delegation yesterday that slippery political evasion which has served him many times in the past. With the smoothness of a lecture-hall presentation he differentiated between "my personal action as a citizen" and what "I am doing as a party leader." The use of the word "leader" is a slip. It is not as a leader that he evades the suffrage amendment issue, for if his personal convictions in favor of equal suffrage are deep and sincere, and if his conception of party leadership is true, it becomes his duty to protect his leadership—to lead his party into effective championship of a principle, which to him is important and honest.

The suffragists have again forced national attention upon this issue. They will be criticised and in some measure condemned for undignified behavior towards the President. But they have reacted squarely to the situation created by the President's shiftiness on this issue, and have brought that issue into the minds of every newspaper reader in the country today.—*Boston Record, January* 10.

AS the leader of a party my commands come from the party and not from private personal convictions," said President Wilson to a suffragist delegation Tuesday. It would be interesting to have Mr. Wilson name a few of the party commands he has heeded in the last four years, and also specify some of his private personal convictions that have been sacrificed in deference to his party's wishes.—*New Springfield Union, January* 11.



At the White House Gate

Suffragists Wait at the White House for Action

THERE is a royal blaze of color at the White House gates these nipping winter days. Across Lafayette Square, through the lovely tracery of bare trees, the cold classic lines of the White House have receded into their winter background. Instead a gallant display of purple, white and gold banners through the trees holds the eye. They are like trumpet calls. Many were caught by the lovely sight last week when the suffrage pickets of the Congressional Union first went on guard at the White House. For the first time in history the President of these United States is being picketed, is being waited upon day after day by representatives of the women of the nation, is being asked a question that must finally be answered to the nation.

Many walked across Lafayette Square the day the banners first called, to look at the unusual sight in front of that dignified place that is each day visited by people from every part of the country. Flanking the impressive east and west gates of the White House were merely twelve young women, holding high floating purple, white and gold banners. The young women were demure and unsmiling and silent. They were so demure and so silent, in fact, that both the White House police and the District police forebore to disturb this first picket on the President of the United States.

Police officials are not generally farseeing gentlemen. What escaped these persons is the fact that the questions that those lettered banners are day after day asking, men and women are echoing and re-echoing across the nation. "Mr. President, what are you going to do about woman suffrage?" "Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?" The fact is that thousands of men and women of this nation because of those silent sentinels with their purple, white and gold standards, have asked themselves for the first time, "What is the President doing about federal suffrage? What could he do? Why is he not doing it?" From every section of the country these voices of the great rank and file that make public opinion are being expressed in the press of the country. Never before has a picket organized to call attention to a wrong excited more comment, resounded over farther territory.

THE Congressional Union picket began January 10 at ten o'clock, with twelve sentinels on duty from ten in the morning until half past five in the evening, with frequent changes on the line. Six suffragists guarded the east and six the west, or main gates, of the White House. They stood three on each side of the great gates, each standard bearer with lettered banner flanked on either side by one holding the purple, white and gold Congressional Union emblem.

These hours will be observed from now on until the passage of the amendment or until the adjournment of Congress, if the amendment has not passed by that time. Every day will see increased numbers in the ranks that guard the White House. During the day there is always the guard at the gate, but it is augmented for an hour in the afternoon and an hour in the morning, the time the President usually passes in and out, by a line of pickets that will ultimately encircle the White House.

Most of the states in the Union, suffrage and non-suffrage, will be represented, each state in the Union being represented on announced days, with every banner bearer protesting to the President for her own state. Many organizations and clubs will also serve on the picket line to register the demand of their members for the passage of the federal amendment.

District of Columbia day was the first to be observed by the picket. On January 15 forty young women were in line bearing standards and lettered banners to register the protest of the non-voting women of the District. The day was in charge of Mrs. Richard Wainwright, wife of the Rear Admiral, and herself one of the best known and most beloved women in the District.

THE young pickets at the gates of the White House have had a multitude of experiences, both grave and gay; they have hour after hour watched serenely the jeers and the laughter of the thoughtless; they have seen both men and women swept into the suffrage current for the first time in their lives. The silent sentinels are supposed to be silent in fact; but with the thousands of questions hurled at them in the past few days it would be impossible not to answer briefly as to the reasons for the picket of the White House.

"The President asked us to concert public opinion before we could expect anything of him; we are concerting it," is the answer that has sent Congressmen, business men, and women opposed to suffrage away thinking. The picket had seemed to them, at first glance, without purpose in spite of the dash, the sheer beauty of it. But there is nothing frivolous about the sober truth of this reply. Dozens of women have read over that last suffrage reply of the President's, delivered a scant week ago at the White House. It had not seemed menacing to the liberty of women. The young sentinels begin to take on the aspect of fingers pointing the way.

THE watch has gone on day after day. Through sleet, through hail, through snow—in the past week the silent sentinels have endured them all. They still stood there. And the attitude of the crowd began to change. It gained visibly in respect and admiration. Every day hundreds of men and women pause to ask the attitude of the President on that day. And literally thousands of men and women in Washington and in all parts of the country have sent suggestions for the comfort of the silent sentinels, some suggestions followed up by large shipments of woolen garments, coats, mittens and the like.

A picture that reminds one of life at the front, takes place daily when a car draws up and the lady with the thermos bottle alights and insists on refreshing the banner bearing pickets with hot coffee.

THE sentinels are drawn not only from the rank and file of the federal suffrage movement, representing many states, both voting and non-voting; but there have also been among the vivid banner-bearers some of the distinguished figures of the suffrage movement of the country. During the week Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent, of California, Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the National Woman's Party; Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, chairman of the Virginia branch of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, former national vice-president general of the Daughters of the Revolution; Miss Ella Riegel, of Philadelphia, prominent member of the College Equal Suffrage League; Miss Alice Paul, national chairman of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, member of the National Executive Committee of the Union, have all stood on the picket line in front of the White House.

One of the Sentinels
(Mrs. Bessie Papandre of California)

ALL the world passes by those historic gates if you wait long enough for it. Cabinet members have passed by the silent sentinels to a scheduled meeting; Congressmen by the hundred pass and repass, many to stop and congratulate the girl pickets on their pluck and to bid them be of good cheer. "You are on the right track! Keep it up!" is the common refrain that is heard day after day. During the week Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, Democratic whip in Congress, passed; Ollie James, Senator from Kentucky, and Representative Thomas Heflin, of Alabama, representing the 'solid south's' prejudice, went by and tried to conceal under a glum exterior their appreciation of the piece of strategy; William Jennings Bryan, pursued by Congressional Union banners throughout the west, met these same banners at the gates of the White House; Senator Phelan, of California; Secretary to the President Tumulty; Commissioner of Immigration, Frederick C. Howe; Secretary of State Lansing, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, and a host of others greeted the pickets or passed by with an attempt at indifference.

WITHIN a few days official overtures were made to the young women. They were given tacit permission by the police to keep their posts. The whole company were invited by an attache of the President into the East Room of the White House to "get warm." The superintendents of the Treasury Building and the War Department Annex also extended a similar invitation to their buildings. One of the young women in the purple, white and gold sentry line was asked by one of the White House news bureaus to enter and write the story of life on the picket line—which she obligingly did, taking off her tricolored regalia and leaving behind her flag when she entered the enemy's country.

DAY by day, though the days grow colder and the snow is often flying, the line of intrepid pickets is growing longer. The thousands of government clerks streaming homeward these winter evenings, with the white lights pricking out like great flowers against the network of dark trees, are looking upon one of the most thrilling sights that official Washington, center of convention, has seen in many a long day. Down the Pennsylvania Avenue front of the White House stretches the long line of young sentinels with lifted purple, white and gold streamers intersperced by golden banners bearing the reiterated question to the President. Sometimes the rain is slanting down. Sometimes the evenings are freezing. But the smiling silent questioners are at their posts, and will be until the close of Congress at inaugural time, if the amendment has not passed by that time, when the purple, white and gold cordon will extend around the White House and focus the eyes of the nation upon the obstruction which is being offered to women's liberty in America.

There is little real displeasure over the sentinels. There is some mirth and there is some joking. But the vast majority that stream by that gallant showing take off their hats or pause for congratulations. They realize that the banners that make so gay a picture below the evening lights are not merely suffrage flags. They are the colors that have come to typify the new, the hopeful spirit of rebellion in the suffrage movement of this country. How much longer indeed, Mr. President, must the intelligent women of this country be held back by the politicians of parties, they are asking. The number that does not understand the question grows fewer each day.

The Minority Appeals for Fair Play on Suffrage

Report Made to Congress

THAT the extension of the vote to women is right was definitely recognized by all political parties in the last presidential campaign; and the sole purpose of the federal amendment now pending is to make good the enfranchisement of women, nationally acknowledged to be just and right by the voters of our country in their respective political conventions assembled."

Such is the opening declaration of the minority report presented to Congress on January 10, by Representative John M. Nelson, of Wisconsin, Republican member of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, as "the views of the minority" on the suffrage amendment.

In that paragraph is seen the result of western campaigns, of the expenditure of over a hundred thousand dollars, of persistent and consistent lobbying every Tuesday and Thursday of their meeting during the past year with the members of the Judiciary Committee. By it suffrage is lifted beyond a woman's rights debate, which character it has heretofore always assumed before Congress; it is presented as an acknowledged principle of justice about which there can be no argument, and in regard to which Congress has merely the choice of two courses of action. It can obstruct justice, prolong the exhausting struggle of the women of the nation, or it can expedite justice, free the energy of women for other things, and relieve itself of this "perplexing, time-consuming" subject.

Practically, it can choose between the two possible ways of establishing this acknowledged piece of justice throughout the land, which are, as the report says:

> "The national way, which is direct, well known, and effective.
>
> The state way, which is roundabout, seldom used, interminable."

In a most skillful analysis Mr. Nelson discusses these two possible methods. The advantages of national work so often set forth in THE SUFFRAGIST are carefully gone over, and the practically insurmountable difficulties of amending more than twenty of the state constitutions taken up one by one.

This part of the report concludes with the statement:

> "Women today are asking for a federal amendment and will, if need be, continue to do so until the end of time, because it is becoming increasingly clear to them that the national way is the quickest, the most direct, and, in fact, the only practical road to national enfranchisement.
>
> "Frequently a feeling of fairness on the part of members of a legislature, who may be opposed to the extension of the franchise, or it may be a sense of chivalry, to women, impels them to submit the question to a referendum of the voters of the state. A similar generous motive doubtlessly moved a majority of the members of the Committee on the Judiciary to refer this suffrage joint resolution to the House. Likewise, every Member of Congress, who does not wish to have this resolution pending here forever, may justify himself in passing it on to the states. Such action would surely be approved by fair-minded, right-thinking men, for most assuredly wisdom, prudence, and self-protection would seem to demand that Congress be relieved of this most perplexing, time-consuming subject-matter which the states alone can easily dispose of thereafter until three-fourths shall have ratified or one-fourth rejected the resolution."

THE stock objections to a federal amendment are then very thoroughly and convincingly answered.

This notable minority report concludes with this appeal to fair play and good sense:

> "By putting forth these sophistries and spinning out these spider webs to bar the passage of woman on her way to enfranchisement no one can justify his obstructive attitude to the minds of fair-minded men nor deceive for a moment the far-sighted, clear-visioned women in the forefront of the onward march of womanhood toward a larger democracy, nor becloud the minds of the host of women they represent throughout the land. Woman knows the way, and she will follow it, if need be, to the end of time. She will seek the franchise in state after state, well knowing, however, that the emancipation of her sex will never be fully achieved except by way of a federal amendment. She will therefore keep knocking at the doors of Congress until she is permitted to go through to the states to secure equal suffrage under the federal constitution. Shall we stay her progress indefinitely? Shall we keep her always knocking at our door? Surely not. Let her pass through, and with genuine chivalry let us bid her Godspeed on her way."

MR. NELSON'S report on the Susan B. Anthony amendment after being filed with Congress was referred to the House Calendar. The amendment with which the report deals is technically known as House Joint Resolution No. 1. It was introduced by Representative Raker, of California, on December 6, 1915, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. A hearing was held before the committee on December 16, 1915. Then followed a careful and persistent lobby of the committee, which led to the report of the resolution without recommendation by the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee on February 15, 1916. Four friends of the resolution were absent, and it was promptly voted back by the Judiciary Committee to the sub-committee, with instructions to hold it until December 14,—that is, until after election.

This hostile action from the Democratic majority on the committee was followed by an unremitting and most determined lobby on the part of the legislative committee of the Congressional Union until on March 14, with all friends of the measure present, it was agreed by unanimous consent to reconsider on March 28 the hostile action of the committee. On March 28, by means of unfair rulings on the part of the chairman, the motion was carried to postpone indefinitely all constitutional amendments. The opponents of the measure hoped by this motion to postpone consideration of the suffrage amendment until after the election. The Congressional Union lobby was continued and members of its legislative committee were present at every meeting of the Judiciary Committee until the adjournment of Congress in September.

On December 14, at the first meeting of the Judiciary Committee following the election and reconvening of Congress, the suffrage amendment was brought up and ordered reported without recommendation to the House.

On December 15, Representative Warren Gard, of Ohio, filed the majority report which was referred to the House Calendar.

On the same day Representative Raker introduced a resolution providing for a debate and vote on the suffrage resolution which was reported to the Committee on Rules for action.

The legislative committee of the Congressional Union is conducting a lobby to secure the passage of the amendment and is seeking the cooperation of the Rules Committee, in whose hands the measure now rests, in obtaining support for the amendment from administration leaders, in order to ensure its passage.

Copies of Mr. Nelson's favorable minority report may be secured by writing to him at the House Office Building, or at the Document Room of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Comments of the Press

The Judiciary Report

THE Congressional Union besieged the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives till Chairman Webb reported the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Constitution of the United States. They haunted the committee room night and day till the members could no longer put them off, and as a result the committee brought out the bill without recommendation, and it is now before the House.—*Terra Haute, Indiana, Star, December 24.*

Suffrage Progress

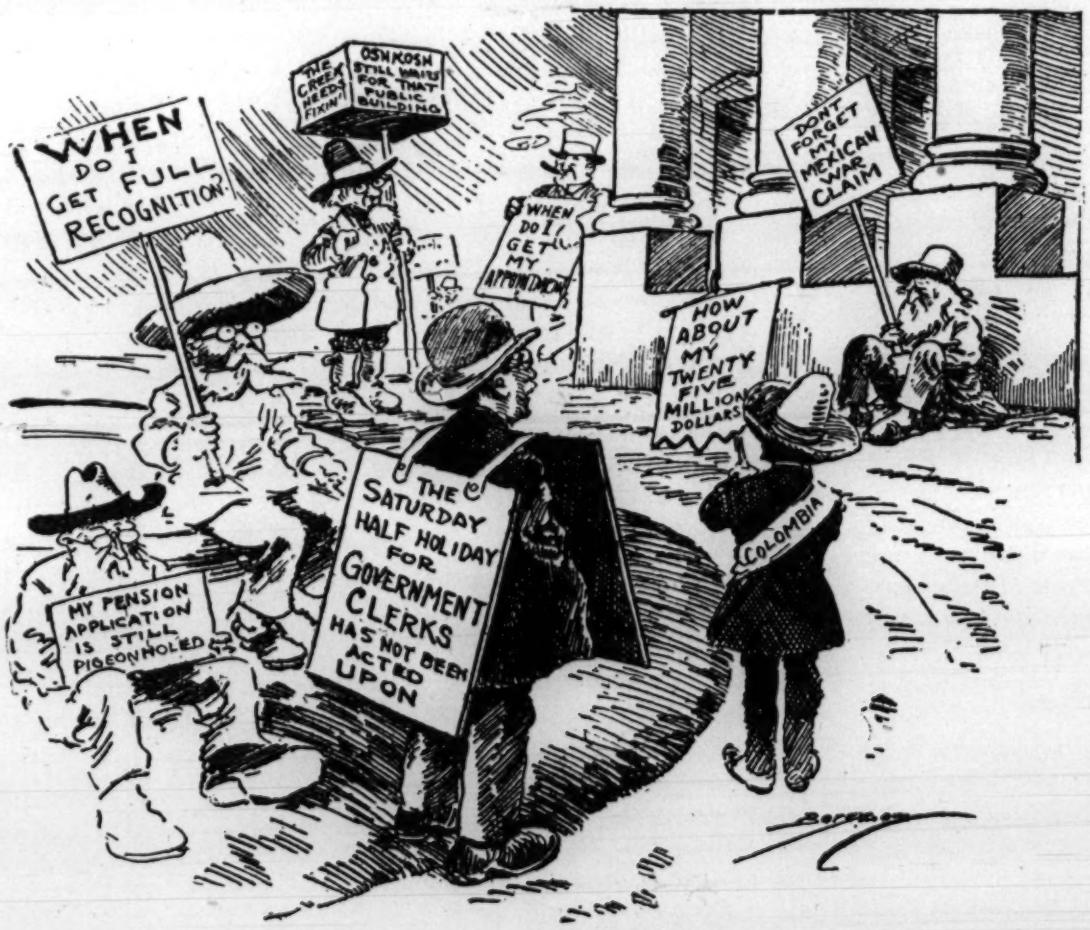
CHRISTMAS day was made significant in the cause of equal suffrage for men and women by the breaking of a strong precedent. The rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, where up to that day only eulogies of public men have been spoken, was used for a memorial service for Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain. Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, brought about that change for the Capitol. She is now the working head of the suffrage movement in this country.—*Worcester, Mass., Telegram, December 27.*

Suffrage Pickets

WHEN the suffrage pickets go on duty there won't be any White House leaks, anyway.—*Boston Journal, January 10.*

The Woman's Party Campaign

THE Woman's Party worked valiantly for its cause in the west, accepting every hardship cheerfully and making many friends. They were not the only women who figured in the campaign by any means, but the Woman's Party is unique because it worked for only one cause—the cause of woman suffrage.—*Atlanta, Georgia, Morning Journal, December 4.*


WHEN DO I GET FULL RECOGNITION?
THE CREEK NEEDS FIXIN'
OSHKOSH STILL WAITS FOR THAT PUBLIC BUILDING
WHEN DO I GET MY APPOINTMENT
DON'T FORGET MY MEXICAN WAR CLAIM
HOW ABOUT MY TWENTY FIVE MILLION DOLLARS
THE SATURDAY HALF HOLIDAY FOR GOVERNMENT CLERKS HAS NOT BEEN ACTED UPON
MY PENSION APPLICATION IS STILL PIGEONHOLED
COLOMBIA

Berryman in Washington Star, Jan. 11

If Picketing Becomes the Vogue

Suffrage Success Approaching

IT WOULD seem that both the prohibition and suffrage movements in 1917 will assume a national rather than a state aspect in the United States. The contest in both instances, in fact, passes with 1916 out of local, regional, and state into federal environment. Unless all indications are deceptive, the last session of the Sixty-fourth or the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress will submit proposals to amend the Constitution so that, under its provisions, women shall have everywhere in the United States equal political rights with men.—*Christian Science Monitor, December 30.*

Women Gain by Election Campaign

THE campaign has probably given a tremendous impetus to the suffrage movement if it does not win immediately the federal amendment to the Constitution which the National Woman's Party demand. It has shown the country the sincerity of women in the suffrage fight, it has proven to politicians the hard work that women can do and the intelligence they can show, and it has practically ended any campaign of sneers against the cause of suffrage. Hereafter politicians will travel to the ends of the earth, when necessary, to cast a vote for suffrage.—*San Francisco Call, November 8.*

Perils of Neutrality

EVERY man who is neutral in thought on the suffrage question should take pains to dodge the members of the Women's Congressional Union.—*Philadelphia Item, December 10.*

Inez Milholland

TAKE thought of Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, you who take life easily and watch the battle of progress, of liberty, of idealism, from the safety and comfort of inaction.—*Boston Record, December 15.*

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer: Miss Joy L. Webster
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Gertrude L. Crocker
Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co., Washington, D. C.

Contributions toward $250,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributions from December 30, 1916, through January 12, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker..	15.00
Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey	5.00
Miss Annie Pile.....	1.00
Miss Anita L. Bulmer....	1.00
Miss Mary T. Lane.....	5.00
Miss Lucy Maderia.....	5.00
Miss Beatrice Brown.....	10.00
Miss Mary Gay.....	2.00
Dr. Mary W. Swope.....	1.00
Mrs. John Rogers, Jr.....	10.00
Washington Branch of Woman's Peace Party..	5.00
Mrs. H. S. Scribner.....	1.00
Miss Bertha Noyes.....	1.00
Mrs. Nina E. Allender..	2.00
Per Mrs. Robert Baker:	
Mrs. Julius Rosenwald.	250.00
Miss Grace Henshaw.....	20.00
Mrs. Eva S. Evans.....	5.00
Miss Isabel Kay.....	1.00
Miss Jennie Monroe.....	1.00
Miss Bliss Finley.....	1.00
Miss Carrie Calloway....	1.00
Mrs. J. A. Elston.....	5.00
Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke..	5.00
Anonymous	5.00
Miss Annie Wagner.....	.50
Mr. William Ballou.....	5.00
Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim.	100.00
Mrs. Richard Wainwright	5.00
Mrs. William I. Thomas.	7.12
Per Mrs. Mary Beard:	
Miss Irene Lewisohn.. (Inez Milholland Memorial Fund)	100.00
Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch	10.00
Mrs. Ella Morton Dean..	5.00
Mrs. Katherine G. Halligan	4.00
Mrs. Charles V. Meredith	375.00
Mrs. John Winters Brannan	310.00
Miss Edith Goode.....	9.00
Mrs. Lucy Bryant Duhring	5.00
Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye	5.00
Mrs. Sara Bard Field....	10.00
Mrs. W. Thompson Burch	10.00
Mrs. Kate J. Boeckh....	1.00
Mrs. Jennie Benson.....	1.00
Mrs. Ellen Atwell.....	5.00
Miss Charlotte Johnston.	1.00
Mrs. J. F. Palmer.....	1.00
Mrs. Halcyone Morrison.	1,00
Miss Mary A. Burnham..	1,100.00
Maryland Branch of Congressional Union	15.00
Mrs. A. G. Hammer.....	1.00
Miss Bernice Beachy....	1.00
Mrs. Paul Dessez.....	10.00
District of Columbia Branch of Congressional Union.....	10.00
Annapolis Branch of Congressional Union.....	5.00
Mrs. Fred Patterson....	2.00
Mrs. C. H. Morrison.....	1.00
Miss Agnes Chase.....	5.00
Mrs. A. S. Parks.....	2.00
Miss Jane Delano.....	1.00
Through Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley	25.00
Mrs. Edwin C. Grice.	25.00
Dr. Cora Smith King..	25.00
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	21.75
Miss Aline E. Solomon	2.00
Mrs. Elizabeth T. Kent	200.00
Mrs. S. B. M. Young..	25.00
Mrs. E. Dana Durand.	25.00
Mrs. Charles V. Meredith	25.00
Membership	21.55
Collections	21.10
Total	2,898.02
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST....	197,675.82

National Headquarters Receipts:

Total collected by National Headquarters through January 12, 1917.....	200,573.84

Contributions made to New Jersey Headquarters:

Mrs. Robert Patterson Finley	3.00
Miss Alice Gardner....	.50
Mrs. Bryant White....	12.00
Mrs. Abram J. Rose...	15.00
Miss Cornelia Rose ...	1.00
Mrs. E. G. Lacey.....	5.00
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins.	100.00
Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins..	25.00
Mrs. F. W. Iredell....	1.00
Mrs. J. A. Lefferts.....	1.00
Mrs. R. M. Laird	2.00
Mrs. Morris B. Mead..	2.00
Mrs. Hathaway	.50
Mrs. W. B. Ingham....	5.00
Mrs. William Pinkham	17.84

Contributions made to New York Headquarters:

Mrs. James A. Byrne..	30.00
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks	10.00
Mrs. William Floyd....	20.00
Mrs. Charles Parmelee.	2.00
Mrs. E. J. Keehn	1.00
Mrs. Robert Niles, Jr..	5.00
Mrs. Calvin Tomkins..	14.00
Mrs. Charles Oppenheim	40.00
Mrs. Alexis Moskowitz	2.50
Mr. Adolph Lewisohn.	250.00
Mr. Sam Lewisohn ..	50.00
Miss Alice Carpenter..	10.00
Miss M. S. Linton.....	1.00
Mrs. Caroline Lexow Babcock	5.00
Mrs. J. B. Rublee.....	1.50
Mrs. F. C. Eno Graves	10.00
Mrs. Constance Lewisohn	5.00
Miss E. C. Strobell....	10.00
Mr. Herbert Parsons..	100.00
Mrs. Sidney Borg.....	15.00
Mrs. Meyer Hecht.....	100.00
Mrs. Benjamin Macmahon	5.00
Mrs. Walter McDougall	10.00
Miss E. A. Veller.....	.50
Miss Joan Veller	.50
Mrs. Charles W. Clowe	5.00
19th Congressional District Collection	2.87
Mrs. Ellis Ort	2.00
Mrs. Clarence M. Smith	3.50
Mrs. John C. Powers..	5.00
Miss Mary Maynard...	50.00
Miss Helen Louise Maynard	50.00
Mrs. A. H. Kridel....	10.00
Mrs. Frederick T. Ackermann	25.00
Mrs. E. Tigany Dyer..	500.00
Mrs. Walter Ehrich ...	8.00
Miss Vida Milholland..	2.50
Mrs. J. T. Havemeyer.	5.00
Mrs. Joseph Griswold Deane	24.10
Miss Alice V. Payne...	10.00
Miss Alice Bancroft..	10.00
Mrs. John H. Hammond	20.00
Miss Mabel Hale	5.00
Mrs. A. J. Erdmann...	10.00
Mrs. James Bronson Reynolds	10.00
Mrs. Charles Pettinos..	25.00
Miss Cora A. Week....	1.00
Mrs. John Winters Brannan	15.00
Mrs. Lewis L. Delafield	20.00
Mrs. I. Rosenberg	1.00
Mrs. W. B. Adams.....	5.00
Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont	10.00
Mrs. Philip Comstock.	1.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer	10.00
Miss Anna Constable..	5.00
Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse	10.00
Mrs. Emanuel Einstein	5.00
Miss Jessie Ashley.....	5.00
Miss Ethel Peyser	2.00
Mrs. B. B. Bryan.....	5.00
Miss F. Seeger	1.00
Mrs. Francis T. Seal..	10.00
Miss Mary T. Saul...	5.00
Total	$1,782.81
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	15,180.04

Branch Receipts:

Total collected by the Branches through January 12th, 1917.	19,962.85
Grand total	220,536.69

Correction

FIVE dollars credited to Mrs. Gilson Gardner in THE SUFFRAGIST of December 30, should have been credited to the Washington (D. C.) Branch of the Woman's Peace Party.

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Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers for "The Suffragist"

DECEMBER 24 THROUGH DECEMBER 30

Miss Eleanor P. Barker	1
Mrs. Sarah Paine	1
Miss Virginia J. Arnold	1
Mrs. W. D. Trowbridge	3
Miss Alice Henkle	4
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	1
Mrs. H. C. Niemeyer	1
Mrs. Hazel Buck Ewing	1
Mrs. Olivia Casement	1
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	3
Dr. Harriet Lloyd Doane	1
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